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The earliest Philippine published cookbooks help define the historical baseline of what traditional Philippine cuisine includes. Recipe books also address the growing popularity of home cooking using new imported products and appliances, the government's concern for sanitation and food security, as well as the need to assure continuance of familiar Filipino home cooking. The tomes under review show that despite changes in how traditional dishes were made, the foods remained an important element of Philippine culture amidst altering culinary fashions.

Cookbooks evidence societal affirmation of how valuable is intangible culture -- traditional cooking in this case -- to having continuous positive sentiment for indices of the national image.

EARLY PHILIPPINE COOKBOOKS
Savors of Cultural Concern

By Felice Prudente Sta. Maria

The first documents declaring foods and beverages "Filipino" are early Philippine-published cookbooks. They may have received inspiration from the author of the final report of the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition that ran from April 30 to December 1,1904 suggesting:

> *… the preparation of a Filipino cookbook, which would be useful in domestic-science work, and which I believe has never been compiled. It should be one of the first things done by a supervisor of domestic science. A compilation of recipes from various districts of the Archipelago would enlarge the culinary knowledge of the people of any one locality.*
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> *As far as I know there has never been any means provided for any exchange or distribution of local recipes of this kind.* [1]

Part One: Cultural Acquaintance

Textbooks as Cookbooks

While the Exposition was ongoing, home economics became part of the basic public school curriculum in the Philippines. Two months later, on August 16, 1904, the General Superintendent for Education announced that *Bulletin 7: Instruction in Housekeeping in Intermediate Schools* was in the process of being

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[1]NOTES

Report of the Industrial Exhibits of the Philippines Schools at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904): 8.

prepared by a collaboration of teachers. Recipes and simple menus for inclusion would use "materials that usually can be found in the market of any Filipino town" and foreign materials that "can be secured by importation" and "are of such nature as to distinctly benefit the people by improvement of their diet and standard of living." [2]

The government continued to improve its teaching aids. In 1911, *Housekeeping and Household Arts: A Manual for Work with the Girls in the Elementary Schools of the Philippines* was released. Its author was Alice Fuller, a teacher of home economics for Tuguegarao, Cagayan. Although intended as an instructor's guide, it was recommended for use as a textbook for pupils in school and a cookbook for them at home.[3] For the first time, every Filipino girl would own a cookbook; the importance of written recipes was made obvious. How to prepare *calamismis, gulaman, patani, mongo, sitao* and other local ingredients in common ways was taught, along with American and Americanized Philippine recipes. A number of the native recipes, however, lacked authenticity as reckoned by popular Filipino tastes.

A version of *Housekeeping* for girls in the intermediate grades followed in 1914. In addition to an introduction to everyday sanitation and the chemistry of nutrition, the textbook-cookbook interested students in baking at home. Cookies, birthday cake, and breads were produced at school kitchens patterned after an official model for replication archipelago-wide in schools and homes. Domestic science punctuated the value of homemaking in building responsible citizens.[4]

Food as Filipino

Food enthusiasts may have been inspired similarly by the positive reactions Philippine preserves and liquors shown at the St. Louis Exposition received, in addition to the inclusion of native recipes in the newly distributed domestic

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[2] "Annual Report of the General Superintendent of Education, Manila, September 15, 1904," in *Annual School Reports, 1901-1905, Department of Education of the Republic of the Philippines*, reprint (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954): 690.

[3] Alice Fuller. *Housekeeping and Household Arts: A Manual for Work with Girls in the Elementary Schools of the Philippine Islands*. Bulletin No. 35 published by the Bureau of Education. (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1911): 3. A few copies of Fuller's books survive and may have been used in student's homes for practical advise about patient care, child rearing, and nutrition.

[4] Research by this writer situates Domestic Science in the full curriculum implemented by the new American colonial government. The field of Domestic Science evolved in the USA as a counterbalance for farmers' wives where new college programs had opened up for farmers.

science textbooks. Perhaps those circumstances led to *La Cocina Filipina: Coleccion de formulas practicas y posibles en Filipinas para cocer bien*, being released around March 1913. It well could be the first privately published cookbook for the archipelago. According to its foreword, entitled "Aperitivo," its anonymous author compiled transcriptions of "recipes or formulas as dictated to us by expert lips, even to the point of respecting the arbitrary punctuation with which they were dictated." [5]

There are 320 recipes designated as Filipino. They are classified as: *Parte I. Caldos, Sopas, Pures y Potajes; Parte II. Carnes y Pescados, Rellenos, Picadillos, Guisados y Salpicones; and Libro II. Postres*. The majority of recipes are for Spanish and other European dishes that one can presume were served at homes that could afford the imported ingredients like olive oil: *Arroz á la Valencíana; Estofado de carne; Croquetas; Jamon agridulce; Morcillas; Bacalao; Flan de leche; Hojaldres.* Included also are how to prepare *Diniguan; Gulay; Lumpia; Pacsiu de Pescado; Pacsiu de Puerco; Pansit; Pesa de "galina", de "carne" ó de "dalag"; Sinigan de carne; Sinigan de pescado;* and *Sotanju*. [6] The latter may indicate upper-class preferences.

The next significant book to define what should be considered Philippine cuisine appeared in 1918: *Condimentos Indígenas* by Pura Villanueva Kalaw. She uses the term "*platos nacionales*" and advocates local ingredients. [7] Her cookbook pioneers regional recipe collecting with representation from Batangas, Cebu, Ilocos, Iloilo, Pasig, Sorsogon, and Mindanao. The preparations include *mongo, kaguios, sitaw, paco, pollo con salsa de chocolate, linaga, karikari, tamalis, calamares en su tinta, bukayo, palitaw,* and others that still are eaten today.

The 154 recipes are written in the modern, scientific manner using standard measures. They are divided into sections for: *Condimentos de vegetales; Condimentos de aves; Condimentos de carne de cerdo; Condimentos de pescado; Condimentos de postres*. Awareness and acceptance of Filipinized hispanic-empire food is already noted in recipes for *Arroz a la Filipina, Atsara Filipina*, and *Puchero Filipino*.

Kalaw advocates proper nutrition and sanitation toward good health, a fundamental tenet introduced and promoted by the government. "A Culinary

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[5] Na. *La Cocina Filipina: Coleccion de formulas practicas y posibles en Filipinas para comer bien*. (Np: 1913): II.

[6] Recipe names are reproduced here as printed in the book's *Indice*. The names are spelled in a variety of ways.

[7] Pura Villanueva de Kalaw. *Condimentos Indígenas*. (Manila: 1918): 4.

Decalogue for Women" conceived by Kalaw, a respected and patriotic journalist who supported the Philippine Revolution, serves as prologue to the recipes. [8] At a time when speaking the mother tongue in school was punished and display of the Philippine flag was banned, Philippine and Filipino identity were compromised. If there were doubts Filipino food would be left out of American colonial mainstream instruction, cookbooks assured that would never happen.

Foreign Flavors

Foreign cookbooks found their way into Filipino kitchens in two manners. Some were translated into Tagalog. *Kusinang Tagalog* appeared in 1916. It was an assortment of recipes compiled by the bookstore and publishing house of P. Sayo, widow of Soriano. Three years later, *Aklat ng Pagluluto* translated into Tagalog "*ng buong katiyagaan*" by Rosendo Ignacio came on the market with almost identical contents. [9] Also in 1919, *Pasteleria at Reposteria Francesca at Española* by P. R. Macosta translated into Tagalog by Crispulo Trinidad added to the locally printed culinary references. Many of the recipes were quite fancy and one wonders how many remained aspirational.

Among foreign printed titles found in ancestral homes is *Manual del Cocinero, Cocinera, Respotero, Pastelero, Confitero y Botillero* by Mariano de Rementeria y Fica, a Madrid publication of 1851 with subsequent editions into 1856. [10] Agencia Editorial at 38 Carriedo Street, Manila sold *El Cocinero Práctico* edited by Saturnino Calleja published in 1903. [11] Ignacio P. Domenech was an acknowledged Spanish gourmet. His *La Nueva Cocina Elegante Española* first

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[8] *Ibid*.: 5-9.

[9] Doreen G. Fernandez. *Tikim: Essays on Philippine Food and Culture*. (Pasig: Anvil Publishing, Inc., 1994): 216-217.

[10] Mariano de Rementeria y Fica. *Manual del Cocinero, Cocinera, Repstero, Pastelero, Confitero y Botillero,con el metodo para trinchar y server toda clase de viandas, y la cortesanía y urbanidad que se debe usar en la mesa*. Último edition [1856]. (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Norberto Llorenci, 1851). The book was an heirloom of the Custodio Bantegui family and Edith Sangalamg provided this writer in 1985 with a facsimile of it.

[11] Saturini Calleja, editor. *El Cocinero Práctico: Nueva tratado de cocina, repostería y pastelería con interesantes articulos de economía doméstica y horticultura.* (Madrid: Imprenta Alemana and Mexico: Herrero Hermanos, 1903). The book was used by the family of Mariano Crisostomo who represented Bulacan at the Constitutional Convention in Malolos of 1898. His grandson Lloyd Crisostomo assures that the cookbook was used even by his father's generation.

saw print in 1915; a fifth edition from 1920 was used in Manila for decades. [12]

As Filipinos improved their proficiency in the new colonial medium of instruction, English-language cookbooks became available. One is the 1918 edition of *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* authored by Fannie Merritt Farmer that first appeared in 1896. [13] Luisa Lichauco attended the Farmer school and another one in the United States for dietetics. Upon returning to the Philippines, she taught cooking at home, and then an eight-month course at another address. [14]

American Cooking

American residents also made recipe books. The Guild of Central Methodist Church and the Woman's Auxiliary of Union Church of Manila produced *The Manila Cook Book* in 1919. Although the majority of recipes are American, there are contributions credited to "A Filipino Friend" for using breadfruit seeds as vegetables and in salads. As in Fuller's first home economics textbook, *The Manila Cook Book* reveals how Americans cooked to suit their palates.

The American Guardian Association published a beautiful cookbook in 1922 to benefit destitute American and American-Filipino children "without proper protectors". [15] Governor-General Leonard Wood wrote the Foreword revealing that fathers abandoned thousands of children leaving them with mothers unable to properly care for them; many of the children were orphans. [16]

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[12] The journalist Rafael Anton fled the Spanish Civil War and settled in Manila where he worked for the Roces newspaper company. He gave this author a facsimile of his Domenech cookbook in 1984, explaining that it was familiar to his friends and family in both Spain and the Philippines who loved to cook. It was Anton who told me during a casual conversation that the Philippines of the 1930s was one of "good amateur cooks." He said, "Everyone was cooking."

[13] Fannie Merritt Farmer. *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book*. Revised Edition. Copyrights 1896, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1914. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1919). A copy in this writer's family bears the dedication: "To our dear sister Biding, On her graduation. With best wishes from Conching, Gumer. Manila, Nov. 14, 1919." The recipient was Brigida Yulo; the givers were Concepcion Yulo and her husband Gumersindo Garcia.

[14] Fernandez, *ibid*. According to Fernandez, from 1928 to1929, Lichauco studied at the Le Cordon Bleu cooking school in Paris.

[15] Mrs. Samuel Francis Gaches, R.N., editor in chief. *Good Cooking and Health in the Tropics.* (Manila: The American Guardian Association, 1922): 7.

[16] *Ibid*.: 5.

Victor G. Heiser, M.D. boosted the book's reliability and marketability by supervising chapters on health. Elsie Gaches, the tome's editor in chief, had been Director of Nurses and Principal of the Philippine General Hospital School of Nursing; she was well known as a dietician. There are 20 pages out of the 278 filled with recipes that are credited as "Filipino". Among them are preparations for *Batao, Bulanglang Sitaw, Cardillo*, Chicken with *Malungay* Leaves, *Escabeche, Lutong Talunan, Pakam, Pesang Isda, Picadillo* with Potatoes, *Puso* [banana blossom], *Sinigang, Talong Diningdeng, Tinola* Chicken. There are also instructions to make "Filipino ice cream" from *ates, makapuno*, mango, pineapple, *pinipig,* and *ube*.

While American residents were adapting to tropical living, Filipinos were beguiled by the increasing new brands of canned and bottled foods, sauces, beverages, and flavorings from the United States of America. In addition the age brought electric appliances and other modern gadgets for the kitchen. Just as the opening of Suez Canal in 1869 had increased the availability of European ingredients for cooking, the early twentieth century's improved refrigerated steam ships coupled with the spread of ice factories and groceries across the Philippines sparked enthusiasm for home cooking. In addition, by the 1920s an entire student generation, including teachers and home economists educated according to the American way, were in the midst of careers and raising families. They implemented what they had learned about nutrition and cooking.

The domestic science textbook of 1922, *Housekeeping: A Textbook for Girls in the Public Intermediate Schools of the Philippines* by Susie M. Butts combined material from the Fuller textbooks but added "much new material" that included "recipes submitted by teachers of domestic science in the provinces and in Manila." [17] The book depicted Philippine cuisine more correctly than earlier textbooks and more native recipes were included than in the pioneering textbooks. To students and teachers the improvements may have appeared to honor everyday native fare, and by extension Filipino traditions.

Part Two: Additions and Adaptations

Culinary Rivalry

A coup for Filipino cuisine was reported by the July 1928 issue of *The Philippine Republic*, a pro-Philippine independence periodical printed in Washington, D.C. Recipes by Isidra Guevara and Sofia De Veyra were to be included in "the

[17] Susie M. Butts. *Housekeeping: A Textbook for Gils in the Public Intermediate Schools of the Philippines*. (Manila: Bureau of Education, 1922): 3-4.

famous Congressional Cook Book". [18] The first *Congressional Cook Book* was released a year earlier by the Congressional Club.

Isidra was the wife of Pedro Guevara, one of two Resident Commissioners of the Philippines from 1923 till 1937. The position made him a non-voting member of the United States of America House of Representatives. Earlier, from 1917 till 1923, Jaime C. De Veyra had been a Resident Commissioner. His wife, Sofia, was so popular that she was made a non-resident member of the Congressional Club, known for its very strict membership rules. [19] The Philippine recipes appeared in the 1933 edition of the cook book series: Guevara's *Adobo*; De Veyra's Chicken Stewed, Pork Chop with Grated Cheese, Larded Beef, Baked Custard Filipino Style, as well as Larded and Baked Red Snapper. [20]

Philippine cuisine showed it could hold its own in the same limelight as the colonial leader's cooking. Filipinos sought to prove their capability to handle independence from the start of the Philippine-American War in 1899 till the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935 to Americans. Cultural diplomacy, that shared the most excellent of native fine and applied arts, tourism, and cooking, was significant in shaping the image of a responsible, refined, intelligent, educated, and worthy Filipino identity.

Show and Taste

The 1920s spawned a golden age for amateur-led cooking in the Philippines during the 1930s. Recipes were everywhere: in newspapers and popular magazines such as *Graphic* and *Liwayway*. When one moved up from an ice box to a refrigerator or from a *kalan* to an electric range, recipe books and brochures came with the appliances.

In 1927, *Electric Refrigerator Menus and Recipes* accompanied one's General Electric Refrigerator. Alice Bradley, principal of Miss Farmer's School of Cookery and cooking editor of the American magazine, *Woman's Home Companion*, prepared the hardbound book. General Electric Kitchen Institute in Ohio produced *The New Art of Modern Cookery* dated 1936. The Home Economics Department of General Motors Corporation, also in Ohio, prepared *Your*

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[18] "Try These Recipes for Famous Filipino Dishes" in *The Philippine Republic*. Washington, D.C. Vol. 5: Whole No. 51, No. 6. July, 1928: 10.

[19] Titchie Carandang-Tiongson. "The Thoroughly Modern Sofia De Veyra". http://www.positivelyfilipino.om/magazine

[20] The Congressional Club, compiler. *The Congressional Cook Book: Favorite National and International Recipes.* Revised Edition. (Washington, D.C.: The Congressional Club, 1933): 636-639.

Frigidaire Recipes of 1938. On sale was the hardbound *New Delineator Recipes* created at the Delineator Home Institute for Butterick Publishing Company in 1929. In 1932, Ann Batchelder of Delineator Institute shared recipes in the book *Cookery for Today*. [21]

Mrs. Miriam Hedrick was a well-known food demonstrator for Manila Gas Corporation that distributed copies of her recipes to its customers. Her recipes incorporated a diversity of imports as ingredients: Bisquick Prepared Flour; Calumet baking powder; Durkee Kookeasy Tapioca and its spice line; Gold Medal Flour; Karo syrups; Ligo tinned apricots and green peas; Maggi Bouillon Cubes; Nestle's Full Cream Powdered Milk; Pet Milk; Royal Butter; Sperry's Graham Flour; Valvita tomato sauce, soup, baked beans; Softasilk Cake Flour; Suchar refined sugar; Watsonal vanilla flavoring and food coloring. Her audience was the capital's residents who could afford piped in gas for cooking ranges in areas like Malate and Ermita. She also wrote numbered recipes for postcards that Nestle's Full Cream Powdered Milk mailed and recipients collected.

Genato Commercial Corporation employed Hedrick, too. The Philippine company traced its beginnings back through a line of food sellers: Manuel A. Genato established in 1840, Vicente E. Genato that began in 1894, and S. B. De Genato founded in 1914. By the Commonwealth years of the late 1930s, Genato was challenging a new set of foreign food importers. It set up Homecraft Kitchen that by 1936 held regular cooking demonstrations every Thursday. [22] In addition, Genato conducted a free cooking demonstration on Saturdays starting eight o'clock in the morning at Aguinaldo's on Juan Luna Street, Tondo, Manila. [23] Aguinaldo's was the country's first department store.

Filipinas, home economics graduates likely preferred, found employment as demonstrators like Hedrick. Among Genato's were Miss Ursula S. Fabian, Miss Maria Macanas, and Miss Paz Quisumbing. Manila Gas teamed Miss Margarita P. Santos with Hedrick in 1940 for National Foods demonstrations. Within the

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[21] All five cookbooks were given to this author by Concepcion Yulo Garcia, her grandaunt. *The New Delineator* book bears the handwritten dedication: "To my dear Conching From her friend Addie with love & best wishes for A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year 1929."

[22] Homecraft Kitchen cooking demonstration recipe handout, August 13, 1936. This writer has a personal collection of handouts from June to October, 1936. Miriam Hedrick is sometimes written as Miriam R. Hendrick, Mrs. Meriam Hedrick, and Mrs. M. Hedrick.

[23] Mimeographed recipes for a free cooking demonstration at Aguinaldo's Building, September 5, [1941].

year Santos was conducting demonstrations solo. National Foods was a brand for flaked milkfish, guava jelly, and Mango Delight puree. In 1941, Mrs. Conchita R. Rodriguez was demonstrating for Manila Gas. As at all cooking events, printed recipes were given to those in attendance.

Flavorful Samplers

A recipe used for cooking demonstrations, advertisements, and public relations materials often combined several brands. Genato's recipes included Brook's tomato sauce; Calumet baking powder; Cudahy sausage; Empress flour; Fontana macaroni, mushroom gravy; Hume asparagus tips, peaches, peach pulp, pears, pineapple; Jell-well gelatin; Jiffy Lou instant pudding mix; Pet evaporated milk; Piña ham and bacon; Re-Xess cheese; Royal butter, pimiento, corned beef; Suchar refined white sugar.

Pacific Commercial Company (PCC) published an annual *Philippine Home Almanac* filled with advertisements that included recipes for Carnation Sweet Condensed Milk and Evaporated Milk, it's own PCC house brand of coffee vacuum-packed in Manila, PICOT grape flavored laxative salt, Heinz and its 57 pure food products, Libby's Cooked Corned Beef ready to serve, Crisco pure vegetable shortening, Del Monte fruit and vegetable canned products such as peaches and asparagus, Sun-Maid Raisins (for which PCC would send the *Sun-Maid Cook Book*), tinned Golden State Butter, Welch's Grape Juice, new "quick cooking" Quaker Oats, Washington Soda Biscuits, and recipes for Horlick's Malted Milk. [24]

Jell-O, in its pretty brochure printed in full color, announced the highest awards it had won, starting with a gold medal at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904 and continuing into the Sesquicentennial Exposition at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1926. "There is only one Jell-O. Be sure Jell-O is on the package" is a footnote repeated throughout the recipe collection. *Today…what salad…what dessert? Jell-O brings DOZENS of answers* does not allow mixed branding to confuse its market.

Royal was building its market for the "reliable cream of tartar baking powder". In the 1935 it issued *Royal Cook Book* in a Spanish and an English version. It also distributed brochures about baking without an oven: using what was similar to the antique "*dos fuegos"* or double fire system from Iberia. [25]A frying pan with batter

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[24] *Philippine Home Almanac*. (Manila: Philippine Commercial Company, 1933).

[25] The top and bottom heat system called "*dos fuegos*" was in use during the 18th century. Gerónimo de San Pelayo. *Libro de cocina del hermano fray Gerónimo d san Pelayo.* Colección Receterios Antiguos. (Mexico: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Letras, 2000 and 2003): 23.

sits on a stove; atop the pan is an open container filled with hot charcoal. Chinese bakers used a similar system for *bibingka* rice cake.

Food Fantasies

Cookbooks of the 1930s include the 1937 *Tested and Revised Recipes from Philippine Manufacturing Company*, makers of Purico and Star Margarine. Its Foreword is an indication of the era's popular enthusiasm for cooking, and perhaps expectations created by public instruction and media.

> *The recipes in this book have all been "Kitchen-tested." A great many of them have ben sent in to us by enthusiastic users of PURICO and STAR MARGARINE and found to be so thoroughly delicious that it is a pleasure to pass them on to you. The measurements are accurate and if you will follow the directions carefully, a perfect dish will be the result. The recipes given will serve from four to six people.*
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> *We take the opportunity to thank those who have so kindly sent in their favorite recipes and we sincerely hope that you will enjoy using this book.*

The 112-page softbound book has many recipes. They show increasing diversity in what was cooked around the country: *Bibinca* Royal, Doughnuts, *Buñuelos, Churros, Pilipit,* Spanish Omelet, Spaghetti Cuaresmal, *Maccarones a la Banahaw*, Spaghetti Italian, *Escabeche Macao*, Modified *Escabeche, Camaron Redosado, Camaron Rellenado*, Chicken a la Maryland, Sausage and Chestnut Stuffing, American Chop Suey, Shortcake, *Poto Filipino, Pionono, Broas*, A Good Chicken Sandwich, Merengues or Kisses, *Petit Choux* (Cream Puffs), Snipes *Adobo, Dinuguan, Masapodrida*, Breakfast Cocoa (American way), Breakfast Cocoa (Filipino way), Chocolate (American way), Boiled Coffee, *Calamansi* Punch. Many of the preparations are easy to do in ordinary kitchens.

Aklat ng Pagluluto Halaw sa Maraming Aklat at Paayagan sa Pagluluto sa Wikang Tagalog, Ingles at Kastila by Fercrusa Pubishing Company in Sampaloc, Manila and *Libro nin Pagluto asin Pagconserva Pinili sa Manlaenlaen ha Libro asin Pahayagan sa Pagluto sa Tataramon na Tagalog, Inglish asin Castila* from Metropolitan Printing Press exemplify the samplers put together by printing presses without an author culling recipes that from periodicals and books.

Some of the most esteemed recipes from Peacetime, the era between the two world wars, are by Pacita Zamora de Mascuñana. Her father was the physician Felipe Zamora, a friend of Philippine National Hero Jose Rizal. She was associate editor of *Woman's Home Journal* and offered a special cooking course at Centro Escolar University, Manila during the last half of the 1930s. Her recipes linked Manila's upper crust to elegant Le Cordeu Bleue cuisine. Some of those recipes appear in *Everyday Cookery for the Home*, co-authored with Centro Escolar's Dean of the Domestic Science Department, Sofia Reyes de Veyra, wife of the former Philippine Resident Commissioner to the USA Congress. There

were several editions of their cookbook dating from 1930 to 1934.

The Mascunana-De Veyra recipes typify what recreational cooks and their home cooks sought to place on the tables during Sunday family lunches and special meals for special guests. Some of the dishes are *Cannellonis a l'Italiene*, Chocolate Layer Cake with fudge frosting, Parker House Rolls, *Tournedos Marie Louisa* served with *Pommes de Terre Duchesse, Empanadas Especiales*, Maple Corn Balls, *Torron de Pili*, Malacañang Swiss Roll, *Galantine de Dinde Truffe, Salade Russe,* Fruit Cake, *Pansit Molo, Gateau Buche de Noel, Cabeza de Jabali, Tocino del Cielo, Cancha-Chubi-Cuy* (chicken stuffed with rice), *Jototay, Sio-may, Pansit Sun Yat Sen*, *Filets de Beouf a la Chateaubriand, Ensaimadas a la Moderno del Hogar,* Baked *Apahap* with Stuffing, *Gateau le Sans Rival*, Boiled Salad Dressing, *Gateau San Honore*. The recipes are complex in their preparation and require skills beyond what was common cooking.

Part Three: Cultural Continuity

Food Security

The demand for new recipes had a serious dimension often overlooked. As the global consequences of the American Depression and Hitler's ascendency became apparent, Filipinos with foresight thought to prepare for any eventuality. When the Philippine Commonwealth approached its inauguration in 1935, patriots took steps to improve health and nutrition especially among poor rural folk, upgrade food quality inclusive of plant and animal stock, and innovate approaches to increase food production toward self-sufficiency at home and barrio levels.

The recipes that most reflect efforts to stem hunger, especially during national emergencies, come from food scientist Maria Orosa. After earning bachelor and master of science degrees in 1919 from University of Washington, she was appointed assistant state chemist for Washington a year later. In 1922, she returned to the Philippines and organized the Food Preservation Division of the Bureau of Science. She also taught at Centro Escolar University. Over two years, starting in 1928, Orosa studied commercial canning in the United States, Alaska (not yet an American state), Holland, England, Italy, Spain and Paris, China, Japan, and Hawaii. The Philippine Commonwealth created the Plant Utilization Division as part of the Bureau of Plant Industry in 1936. Orosa was the Division's iconic head until her death during the last days of World War 2. [26]

Orosa's recipes apply pharmaceutical chemistry to research that maximized

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[26] Rosalinda L. Orosa, "My Tia Mary". Helen Orosa Del Rosario, compiler and editor. *The Recipes of Maria Y. Orosa* (Quezon City: R. P. Garcia Publishing Company, 1970): xix-xx.

agricultural produce. Antedating commercial production, she made vinegar from pineapple; green *saba* banana flour for baking; banana catsup and mango catsup; native fruit wines; food from rice bran; and concentrated canned food for military rations. Her high-protein Magic Food utilizing soybean was smuggled into camps where it saved many prisoners of war and underground fighters. [27] She promoted a modernized, Filipinized version of Spanish *dos fuegos* baking for rural areas without ovens; it came to be called the Orosa Palayok Oven. [28]

Rural Improvement Clubs

Orosa's recipes reached far into barrios through a system of extension workers. She started 4H Clubs patterned after those in the United States. By 1924, membership reached 22,000 women who understood the Hs stood for health, heart, head, and hand. She also began the Home Extension Service that sent hundreds of home economics demonstrators to teach barrio women home making, child care, meal planning, food preparation and preservation, poultry raising, and home-gardening. [29]

On July 15, 1926, the Bureau of Science issued Orosa's *Popular Bulletin 1: Preservation of Philippine Foods.* It was reprinted in 1931,1932, and 1953 serving as a collection of recipes and a primer to make canned native fruits, jams, jellies, marmalades, fruit butters, fruit pastes, fruit preserves, canned vegetables, pickles, and chutney.

During World War 2, Orosa's recipes and research continued to be influential. The Home Workers' Association that she created brought more applications of her research around the country that was in need of sustenance. [30] Her work complemented the Philippine Commonwealth's Office of Adult Education, an agency of the Department of Public Instruction headed by Vice President Sergio Osmeña and efforts of National Economic Protection Administration with its "buy local" advocacy.

Comfort Food

When the Republic of the Philippines was inaugurated on July 4, 1946, World War 2 had devastated it. Manila had suffered tragically; General Dwight

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[27] Jose Sulit, "Some Outstanding Research Studies of the Late Maria Orosa." *Ibid*.: 1-4.

[28] "The Orosa Palayok-Oven" in *Better Homes*, October 15, 1941 reprinted in R. Orosa, *op. cit*.: 190-195.

[29] *Ibid*.: xvii.

[30] *Ibid*.: xiv.

Eisenhower branded it the second most destroyed city, Warsaw topping the list. Restoring infrastructure, basic public services, private enterprise, and socio-political institutions was in process.

L. P. Fernandez released *Aklat ng Pagluluto: Halaw sa Maraming Aklat at Pahayagan sa Pagluluto sa Wikang Tagalog, Ingles at Kastila* in 1949. The compilation begins with ten table etiquette rules, proceeds to the usual food preparations, and ends with chapters about food for the sick and children, as well as food preservation and making sweets. As in some previous cookbooks, Fernandez has a chapter on home wisdom that includes recipes for making soap and ink, and tips for laundering and polishing silver.

The selection is a mix of native Asian, Spanish, American, and Chinese dishes. While a number of recipes are classified generically as Chinese, some are specified as Cantonese Chinese or Macao Chinese. There are several for Chop Suey, one of them noted as American. [31]

The "thrill from… sharing a culinary secret with another" resulted in the *Singalong-San Andres Women's Club Menu Cook Book* published in 1949. Each participant prepared a day's menus for breakfast, luncheon, and dinner followed by a "Market Order" list of ingredients. Recipes were those on the menus. Margarita V. Adriano, club treasurer, included instructions to make *palitao* for breakfast, *pesang dalag* and *humba* for lunch, *choletas de dalag* and coconut *masapan* made with evaporated milk, for instance. [32]

The club's president Rosario Kalaw Roxas penned a subtly poignant foreword. It reveals the reality of war and, perhaps, the lost intangible heritage needed to bring comforting normalcy and continuity to ordinary lives.

> *Cooking is a universal art. It binds all of us women together. We all want to see that gleam of delight in the eyes of our families when they see hot delicious food at the moment they want to have it. That is why our club undertook this project because we know it will answer a need among other women. Those who love our native cooking but do not know where to learn it, since their grandmothers or mothers are not at hand to teach them, will find in our little booklet an answer to their desire.* [33]

While Roxas is silent about female deaths from World War 2, one cannot but wonder if the absent tradition bearers referred to were war fatalities. Women

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[31] L. P. Fernandez. *Aklat ng Pagluluto* (np: 1949): 61-63.

[32] *Singalong-San Andres Women's Club Menu Cook Book* (np: 1949): 13-17.

[33] *Ibid.*: np.

carry with them in their cooking a sense of home and nation often overlooked as portable, transferable cultural riches.

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ANNEX A: Early Philippine Cook Books
F. P. Sta. Maria

CULINARY DECALOGUE FOR THE WOMAN

By Pura Villanueva de Kalaw
In *Condimentos Indígenas,* 1918

Translation by Macario Ofilada

1. Thou shalt love the kitchen above all the other places of the house because it is the foundation of the health of the family and the origin of many economical measures. Everyday, if you do not have water from an artesian well, you will boil the drinking water and will insure that it be pure. After each meal, you will inspect the kitchen to make sure that everything is ventilated, clear and clean and that, after its use, all the utensils are clean, especially the knives and other metallic objects, because rust produces an unpleasant taste and appearance to your cooking and dirtiness is the breeding ground of germs and illnesses.
2. Thou shalt not serve food that lacks all the necessary substances for the development and conservation of the human body. Thou shalt not throw away the broth (full) of seasonings because it contains nutritious substances. On your table fruits and desserts, though they may only be bananas and humble brown sugar candy squares (*panocha*), must not be lacking, because fruits are helpful and regulate the functions of the stomach, and the preparations made of sugar contain calories.
3. Thou shalt bless the food like manna from heaven. Thou shalt regulate the hours of serving meals, and in your home may these be the best times of peace and joy. Thou shalt present the dishes in the most attractive way possible and thou shalt not waste the ultimate food particle, because from these small quantities of everyday in the long run would great amounts be formed. Take into consideration that upon peeling sweet potatoes or potatoes, starch is saved by previously boiling them in water: radish and sweet potato, etc., both their leaves and roots, contain nourishing substances and good use must be made of them; in chicken as well as in other fowls blood, small parts, head and legs can make delicious soup and good broth, the same (holds true) with the bones of whatever meat. Thou must not throw away used oil: though its appearance may not be good, it gives good flavor to vegetables.
4. Thou shalt honor national dishes above all other cooking, because of their simplicity they are the most appropriate for our tropical climate and their components are products of our fresh soil and free from harmful ingredients.

5. Thou shalt not boil the vegetables without having submerged them for some time in water with a little salt so that insects can be removed from them and that they gain more luxuriance and freshness and would have better flavor.
6. Thou shalt not slice the meat unless always crossing the fibers and previous to boiling you will remove all the tendons and that you pound on them a few times, because this is the secret of making the meat tender. If thou wisheth (for) good broth leave your stew (*cocido*) on the embers for a while after having boiled it well.
7. Thou shalt not start boiling the leaves of vegetables unless the broth is boiling because on the contrary the vegetable will harden and when it is cabbage, bamboo shoots, radish or onions, etc. that is boiled, the pot must not be covered so that their unpleasant odor would evaporate and that their natural color would be preserved. The same (holds true) upon frying, first thou shalt let the oil boil in order to avoid that the dish would smell of smoke.
8. Thou shalt not boil the fish unless the interior of the stomach and the head are clean such that any red particle is no longer seen in them. Native dishes, which by themselves are simple, do not conceal filthy things. However, it is preferable that the scales of the fish to be roasted over embers not be removed.
9. Thou shalt not boil chicken without having removed the tendons of the legs and the mucous and slippery substances and having pounded the meat. Upon cleaning the small parts thou shalt take care that the bile be not spilt over them, and that in order to remove from the fowl the soft feathers you have to leave the fowl for a time over living flame.
10. Thou shalt not throw away pieces of chicken or of fish or of meat that are in excess at the table though they may be of small quantity because by adding a little vegetables they could be of use for other meals.

Lastly, observation, right approximation of proportions, practice and, above all, good will, are the best guides for the preparation of a healthy and delicious meal.